

Message Text

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11

ACTION EA-14

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FM AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2367

INFO AMCONSUL HONG KONG

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

USLO PEKING

CINCPAC

COMUSTDC

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SUBJECT: CHUNG KUO SHIH PAO DEPLORES ROC-US-PR TRIANGLE

REF TAIPEI 4425

SUMMARY: CHUNG KUO SHIH PAO EDITORIAL JULY 13 PROVIDES ROC PUBLIC WITH FIRST EXTENDED DISCUSSION OF JACKSON PROPOSAL TO SWITCH EMBASSY AND LIAISON OFFICE. IT WARNS THAT DAY IS PASSED WHEN CONCERN FOR ROC WAS PRINCIPAL COMPONENT OF US CHINA POLICY, AND THAT PEKING'S GREATER GRAVITATIONAL PULL IS LIKELY TO CENTER US CHINA POLICY ON PRC. END SUMMARY.

2. IN JULY 13 EDITORIAL CHUNG KUO SHIH PAO (CKSP), WHICH USUALLY LEADS IN SERIOUS PRESS DISCUSSION OF FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES, PROVIDED ROC PUBLIC WITH FIRST EXTENDED DISCUSSION OF IMPORT OF JACKSON VISIT AND PROPOSAL TO SWITCH EMBASSY AND LIAISON OFFICE. THOUGH THE CONCERNS AND CONCLUSIONS ARE HARDLY STARTLING, INDEED ARE OFTEN EXPRESSED TO EMBASSY BY SOPHISTICATED OBSERVERS IN AND OUT OF LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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GOVT, THEY ARE NOT USUALLY AIRED SO FRANKLY IN ROC MEDIA.

3. EDIT ANALYZES AND ENDORSES CURRENT US CHINA POLICY AS BASED ON THREE PRINCIPLES: IMPROVEMENT OF RELATIONS WITH PEKING ON BASIS OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE; MAINTENANCE OF DIPLOMATIC AND FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH ROC; MAINTENANCE OF TREATY COMMITMENTS TO ROC. THESE PRINCIPLES OPERATE IN CONJUNCTION WITH SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE (ALSO IMPLICITLY ENDORSED) WHICH RECOGNIZES THAT CHINA IS ONE; ADOPTS NEUTRAL, NON-INTERVENTIONIST POSITION ON "TAIWAN QUESTION"; AND AGREES TO GRADUALLY WITHDRAW US MILITARY FORCES FROM TAIWJB ASBENSIONS ABATE. UNDERLYING THIS POLICY IS NIXON-KISSINGER DESIRE TO SAFEGUARD US SECURITY INTERESTS AND PROMOTE WORLD PEACE THROUGH POLYCENTRIC BALANCE OF POWER, WHICH NECESSITATES CAREFUL BALANCING OF US-USSR, US-PRC, AND US-ROC RELATIONS. ALTHOUGH US CHINA POLICY THUS IS NO LONGER BASED UPON CONCERN FOR ROC PER SE (AS IT WAS FOR MANY YEARS), BY MAINTAINING POWER BALANCE IT NEVERTHELESS OPEATES IN WAYS FAVORABLE TO ROC.

4. JACKSON PROPOSAL WOULD UNHINGE THESE BALANCES AND, BY ALLYING US WITH PEKING TO RESTRAIN USSR, WOULD AGGRAVATE WORLD TENSIONS WHICH NIXON-KISSINGER POLICY HAS SUCCEEDED IN DAMPING DOWN. IT WOULD MOVE BEYOND SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE AND MAKE PEKING CENTRAL AXIS OF US CHINA POLICY, THUS OBVIOUSLY DAMAGING ROC INTERESTS. EDIT WARNS THAT GOVT CANNOT COUNT ON PRC REJECTION OF JACKSON PROPOSAL ON GROUNDS THAT IT IS MANIFESTLY A "ONE CHINA, ONE TAIWAN" POLICY: PEKING ALREADY HAS SHOWN FLEXIBILITY IN DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS. NOR CAN GOVT ASSUME THAT PEKING WILL SIMPLY WAIT UNTIL 1976 WHEN DEMOCRATS LIKELY TO CAPTURE PRESIDENCY SINCE JACKSON WOULD INFLUENCE EVENTS EARLIER THAN THAT DATE. EDIT CONCLUDES WITH STANDARD CALL FOR EFFECTIVE DIPLOMATIC COUNTER-MEASURES.

5. COMMENT: CONCERN ABOUT THE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE US, EASED SOMEWHAT BY AMBASSADOR UNGER'S APPOINTMENT AND THE LENGTHY PAUSE IN US-PRC NOMALIZATION, IS NOW AGAIN MOVING TO THE FOREFRONT OF CONSCIOUULESS. ALTHOUGH SENATOR JACKSON LOST FAVOR LOCALLY SOME YEARS AGO, PEOPLE HERE WERE CAUGHT OFF BALANCE BY HIS STATEMENTS, HAVING HOPED LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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THAT A DEBATE IN THE US ON CHINA POLICY MIGHT BE POSTPONED UNTIL THE 1976 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN. THE CKSP EDITORIAL HAS VERY MUCH THE AIR OF A STRONG WARNING TO PREPARE FOR DIFFICULT TIMES IN THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE, A VIEW SHARED BY THE MOFA WORKING LEVEL WHO ARE PARTICULARLY WORRIED BY THE POSSIBILITY OF SECRETARIAL AND PERHAPS EVEN PRESIDENTIAL VISITS TO PEKING IN THE NEAR FUTURE, JTD WHAT THEY MAY ENTAIL.

6. IT IS AN INTERESTING REVERSAL, AND PERHAPS A MEASURE
OF CKSP SOPHISTICATION, THAT THE EDITORIAL RESTS ITS CASE
ON THE WISDOM OF CURRENT US-USSR DETENTE POLICY AND THE
DANGERS OF UPSETTING THAT POLICY BY MOVING CLOSER TO THE
PRC, RATHER THAN ON SIMPLE ANTI-COMMUNISM (AS OTHER
A
NRS HAVE DONE). THE EDITORIAL HAMMERS HOME THE THEME
THAT, INCREASINGLY, THE ROC AND ITS CONCERNS WILL EXERT
LITTLE WEIGHT IN US CHINA POLICY FORMATION, AND THE BEST
THAT CAN BE HOPED FOR IS THAT THESE CONCERNS WILL NOT BE
TOTALLY EXCLUDED FROM CONSIDERATION AS (ACCORDING TO CKSP)

SENATOR JACKSON MEANS TO DO.
UNGER

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